

The copy of certain

lettres sent to the Quene, and also to
doctour Martin and doctour Ste-
rpe, by the most Reuerende father in
God, Thomas Cranmer Archbis-
shop of Cantorburie from prison in
Drexford: who (after long and most
greuous straite emprisoning and cru-
ell handlyng) most constanly

and willingly suffered Martir-
dome ther for the true

testimonie of Christ.

in Marche

1556



Psal 119.

I spake of thy testimonies (O Lorde)

even before Kinges, and was

not confounded.

To the reader.

The Lorde of lyght lyghten thyne eyes, to se
the thyng that is right, & acue the an heart e
to obeye the same. Amen. Thou mayest (good
reader) besydes the open tyrannye, as in a glasse,
playnly see in these lettres, that the popis he king-
dome is the kingdome of faces (that is, the mygh-
tye Antichrist that Daniel wyrteth of) yf thou con-
sidre only, what face of iustice (in most open ius-
tice) it maketh toward the most mylde Moses,
Thomas Crāmer that most worthy Archebischop
of Cantorbury, he cyteth hū to appeare to make
answere at Rome, geuing hym lxxx. dayes respite,
for his apperaunce there. Is this any thing but
a face of iustice? as thoughe the court of Rome
wolde condemne no man, before he answered for
him selfe, as both the lawe and equitie requyre? But
the very same instant tyme, Antichristes holynesse
(contrary to that bisshoped iustice) sent his commis-
sion unto that periured beastly B. of Glou-
cestre, to degrade and depriue hū of his dignitie.
Which thing he did not only before the lxxx. dayes
were ended, but before ther were. iij. of the spent.
Furthermoze wher as the sayd most reuerende fa-
ther was fast deteyned in most greuous and strait
prison, so as he coulde not appeare (which thing
was notorius both in Englande, and also in the
Romishe court) and therfore had a lawfull and
most iuste excuse of his absence, by al lawes, euen
popishe and other: yet at Rome in the ende of the
sayd lxxx. dayes, was that mylde good mā verred
Contramar: that is, sturdely, stowardly, and wisful
by absent. And in payne of the same his absence, co-
demned: and in synne must cruelly and mercylesse
martyred (alas for pytie) euen by the ministerie of
them, for whose soules sauegarde, he put hū selfe
to that hasarde, and gaue his lyfe. Consydre ther-
fore (I praye thee) howe the shauen hypocrites
with their compliers haue rolled the Quenes ma-
iestie in wilfull murder by thei wynging toyles.

For what is it but wilfull murder to cause a man
to be cyted, and yet to detayne him still in fast pri-
son, knowing his absence to be his condemnacion.
Consider also what manifest perurie and tyrann-
ie they haue committed not the Queene alone, but
with her the hole realme of Englands in. For
which the indignacion of God is so prouo-
ked, that he can not longer forbear to
plage, as he hath begunne alrea-
dy, and wyl (no doubt) pro-
ceede onles speedy repen-

taunce foloweth. The

Lordes bittre
their false-
hed and
treason.

A Q E N

Archbishop. of Cantorburies
letters to the Quenes high-
nesse.

I maye please your maiestie to
perdone my presumpcion, y I dare
be so bolde to wryt to your high-
nesse. But very necessitie constraineth
me, that your maiestie may
knowe my mynde rather by myne
owne wryting, than by other mennes
reportes. So it is y upon Saturdaye
being the .7. dave of this moneth, I
was cited to appeare at Rome, y. lxxx.
dave after, ther to make answer to
suche maters, as should be objected a-
gainst me, upon the behalfe of the
king and your most excellent mai-
estie: which maters the Thursday folo-
wing were objected against me by
Doctour Martin, and D. Storie your
maesties p[ro]cours, before the bishop
of Gloucestre, sitting in iudgement
by Commissio from Rome. But alas,
it can not but greue the heart of any
natural subiecte, to be accused of the
king and Quene of his owne realme:
& specially before an outward iudge,
or by autozitie comming fro any per-
son

forth out of this Realme. Wher the king
 and Quene, as they were subiectes
 within their owne realme, shall com-
 playne, and requyre iustice at a stra-
 ngers handes against their owne sub-
 iecte, being already condemned to
 deathe by their owne lawes. As
 though the king & Quene coulde not
 doo or haue iustice win their owne
 realmes, against their owne subiec-
 tes, but they must seke it at a straun-
 gers handes in a straunge lande. The
 like wherof (I thinke) was neuer
 sene. I wolde haue wished to haue
 had some meener aduersaries: and I
 thinke, that deathe shall not greue me
 muche more, than to haue my most
 dradde and most gracedd Souerayne
 Lorde and lady (to whom vnder God
 I doo owe all obedience) to be myne
 Accusers in iudgement, within their
 owne realme, before any straunger
 & downwarde power. But forasmuche
 as in the tyme of the prince of most fa-
 mous memorie king Henry the. 8. your
 graces father, I was sworne neuer
 to consent, that the bishop of Rome
 should haue or exercise any autorite or
 iurisdiction in this realme of Englade.
 Therfore least I should alowe his au-

The first
 cause why
 tharche
 bish. wolde
 not make
 answer to
 the popes
 commissary,
 is to auoi-
 de perjury

tozitie contrary to myne othe, I refused to make answer to the B. of Gloucestre sittynge here in iudgement by popes autoritie, least I should renne in to perjurie.

The. 2.
cause is
that the
popes Lawes are
contrary
to the
crowne &
lawes of
Eng-
lande.

The crow-
ne & tem-
poral po-
wer is take
immediatly
fro God
The othe
of the king
and iustice
and
the duty
of Subiects.

An other cause why I refused the popes autoritie is this; that his autoritie (as he claymeth it) repugneth to the crowne imperiall of this realme, and to the lawes of the same, which every true subiecte is bounden to defende. First so that the pope sayeth, that all maner of power aswel temporal as spiritual, is geuen first to him of God. And by temporal power he geueth vnto emperours & kinges, to vse it vnder him: But so as it be alwayes at his comandement & booke.

But contrary to this clayme, the imperial crowne and iurisdiction temporal of this realme is taken immediatly from God, to be used vnder him only, and is subiecte vnto none, but to God alone.

Moreover the imperiall lawes and customes of this realme the king in his Coronacion, and all Iustices whā they receaue their offices, be sworne, and all the hole realme is bounden to defende and mayntene. But contra-

by hereunto the Pope by his autoritie
maketh voyde and commaundeth to
blotte out of our booke, all lawes and
customes being repugnaunt to his
lawes: And declareth accursed all
rulers & gouernours, all the makers,
wyptours, and exrecutours of suche la-
wes or customes: as it appeareth by
many of the popes lawes, wherof one
or two I shal rehearse. In þe decrees,
Distinct. 10. is written thus: *Constitutiones
contra Canones & decreta præsulum Romanorū
vel bonos mores nullius sunt momenti*. That is.
The constituciones or statutes enacted
against the canones and decrees of the
bishoppes of Rome or their good custo-
mes, are of non effecte. Also.

*Extra de sententia excommunicationis,
Nouerit: Excommunicamus omnes hære-
ticos vtriusq; sexus, quocunq; nomine cen-
seantur, & fautores & receptatores & de-
fensores eorum: nec non & qui de cetero
seruari fecerint statuta & diuina & consuetu-
dines contra ecclesie libertatem, nisi ea de
capitularibus suis intra duos menses post
huiusmodi publicationem sententia fece-
rint ambuiri. Item excommunicamus sta-
tutarios, & scriptores statutorū ipsorū, nec*

non potestates, consules, rectores, & conciliarios locorum; ubi de cetero huiusmodi statuta & consuetudines adita fuerint vel seruata: necnon & illos qui secundum ea presumpserint iudicare, vel in publicam formam scribere iudicata.

That is to saye: We excommunicat all heretikes of bothe sexes, what name so euer they be called by: and their fauourers and receptours, & defendours: and also them that shall hereafter cause to be obserued statutes and customes made against the liberie of the church, except they cause the same to be put out of theyr booke or recordes within two monethes after the publication of this sentence. Also we excommunicate the statute makers and wrytours of those statutes, and all the potestates, consules, gouernours & counsaillours of places, wher suche statutes and customes shall be made or kept: & also those that shall presume to geue iudgement according to them, or to wryte in to publike forme the maters so indoged.

Other the
popes
lawes be
vniuersal,

Now by these lawes, if the bishop of Rome's autoritie which he claymeth by God, be lawfull: all yo^r graces lawes

lawes and customes of your realme, or els all
being contrary to the popes lawes, be England
naught. And aswell your maiestie as is accusa
your iudges, Iustices and all other sed.
executours of the same, stande accur=
sed among heretikes, which God for=
bidde. And yet this curse can neuer
be auoided (if y^e pope haue suche pow=
er as he claymeth) until suche tymes,
as the lawes and customes of this Note
realme (being contrary to his lawes) wherin
be taken awaye and blotted out of the the popes
lawe booke. And although ther be ma lawes
ny lawes of this realme contrary to and the la
the lawes of Rome, yet I named but wes of
a fewe: as to committe a cleark before Englands
any tempoꝝ all iudge of this realme, do varye,
for debte, felonye, murther, or for any
other tyme: which clearkes by the
popes lawes, be so exempted from the
kinges lawes, y^e they can be no wher
sued, but before their ordinarie. Also
the pope by his lawes maye geue all
Bishopꝝikes and benefices spirituall,
which by the lawes of this realme, ca
be geuen but only by the king and o=
ther patrons of the same, except they
fall in to the lapse.

By the popes lawes *In patronatus*
shalbe sued only before the ecclesiasti=
cal

call iudge. But by the lawes of this
realme, it shalbe sued befoze the tempo
ral iudges. And to be shorte, y^e lawes
of this realme doo agree with the po
pes lawes, like fyre and water. And
yet the kinges of this realme haue pro
vided for their lawes, by the *Premunire*;
so that if any man haue let the execu
tion of the lawes of this realme, by a
ny autozitie from the sea of Rome, he
fallerh in to the *Premunire*. But to mete
with this, the popes haue provided for
their lawes by cursing. For who so e
uer letteth the popes lawes to haue
full course within this realme, by the
popes power standeth accursed. So y^e
the popes power treadeth al y^e lawes
& customes of this realme vnder his
fete: cursing al that execute them, vn
till suche tyme as they geue place vnto
his lawes. But it maye be sayed, that
notwithstandyng all the popes decrees,
yet we doo execute still the lawes and
customes of this realme. Maye not al
quietly without interruption of the
pope. And wher we do execute them,
yet we doo it vniuersely (if the popes
power be of force) and so y^e same we
stande excommunicate, and shall do, vn
till we leaue the execution of our owne
lawes

lawes and customes.

Thus we be wel reconciled to Rome, allowing suche autoritie, wherby the realme standeth accursed before God, yf the Pope haue any suche autoritie. Marke
this wel.

These thinges (as I suppose) were not fully opened in the parliament house, when the Popes autoritie was receaued agayne within this realme. For yf they had, I do not beleue, that either the Kyng or Quenes Maiestie or the nobles of this realme, or the commons of the same wolde ener haue consented to receaue agayne suche a foreign autoritie, so iniurious, hurtful, & prejudiciall aswell to the crowne, as to the lawes and customes, and state of this realme: as wherby they muste nedes acknowledge them selues to be accursed. But none could open this matter wel, but by cleargie, & that suche of them as had redde the Popes lawes, wherby the Pope hath made himself, as it were a God. These seke to mayntene the pope, whom they despyed to haue their chief head, to thintent they myght haue as it were a kingdome & lawes within them selues, distincte from the lawes of the crowne, & wher
with

*The duty
of the
cleargie
neglected
in the par
liament.*

With the crowne may not medle. And
so being except fro þe lawes of the real-
me, myght lyue in this realme, lyke
lordes & kynges, wout damage or fear
of any mā, so y they please their highe
and supreme head at Rome. For this
consideracion (I wene) some y knewe
the truthe, helde their peace at the par-
liament: wher as yf they hade done
their dueties to the crowne and hole
realme, they should haue opened their
mouthes, declared the truthe, and shew-
wed the periles and dangers, that
myght ensue to the crowne and real-
me. And yf I should agree to allowe
suche autoritie within this realme,
wherby I must nedes confesse, that
your most gracious hyghnes and al-
so your realme should euer continue
accursed, untill you shall cease from
thereduction of your owne lawes and
customes of your realme: I coulde
not thynke my selfe true, eyther to
your hyghnesse, or to this my natu-
ral countrey, knowing y I do knowe.
Ignorauunce (I knowe) may excuse o-
ther men: but he that knoweth howe
preiudicial and iniurious the power &
autoritie (which he chalengerh euery
wher)

Note.

where is to the crowne, lawes and cu-
stomes of this realme, and yet wyl al-
lowe the same: I can not see in any
wylse, how he can kepe his due alleges-
aunce, fidelitie, and truth to the crowne
and state of this realme.

An other cause I alleged, why I
could not allowe the autoritie of the
pope, which is this. That by his auto-
ritie he subuerteth not only the lawes
of this realme, but also y^e lawes of god
So that who soeuer be vnder his au-
toritie, he suffreth them not to be vn-
der Christes religio purely, as Christ
did commaunde. And for one example
I brought furthe: that wher as by
Goddes lawes, all chistian people be
bouden diligently to learne his worde,
that they maye knowe, howe to be-
leue & lyue accordingly. And for that
purpose be ordayned holy dayes, whā
they ought (leauyng aparte all other
bussnesse) to geue them selues holly to
knowe & serue God. Therefore God-
des will & comaundement is, that whā
the people be gathered together, y^e mi-
nisters shoulde vse suche language, as
the people may vnderstāde, & take pro-
fite therby, or elles holde their peace.
For as an harpe or lute, yf it geue no

let:

*The. 3.
cause why
he could
not allowe
the Pope.
The popes
religion is
against
Christes
religion*

*why latin
seruice
ought not
to be resto-
red in Eng-
lands.*

certain sounde, that me maye knowe,
what is striken, who can daunce af-
ter it, for all the sounde is in vayne:
so is it vayne and profiteth nothing
(sayeth almightie God, by the mouth
of S. Paule) if the prest speake to the
people in a language which they
knowe not. For elles he maye profite
him selfe, but profiteth not the people,
sayeth S. Paule.

But herein I was answered thus:
that S. Paule spake only of preaching,
that the preacher should speake in a
tongue which the people did knowe:
or elles his preaching availeth no-
thing. This I wolde haue spoken, &
could not be suffred. But if the prea-
ching availeth nothing, being spoken
in a language, which the people un-
derstande not: how should any other
seruice auaille them, being spoken in
the same language? And yet S. Paule
ment not only of preaching, it appea-
reth playnly by his owne wordes.
For he speaking by name expressely
of prayeng, singeng, lauding, and
thanking of God, and of all other
thinges which the priestes saye in
the churches, wherunto the people
saye Amen: which they vnderstande not in
prea-

preachig, but in other diuine seruice:
that whether the priestes rehearse the
wonderfull woꝝkes of God, or the
great benefites of God vnto man-
kynde aboue all other creatures: or
geue thanks vnto God, or make ope
professon of their faithe, or humble
confession of their synnes, wth earnest
request of mercie and foꝛgeueneſſe:
or make ſute or request vnto God, foꝛ
any thing: that than all the people vn-
derſtanding what the priestes ſaye,
might geue theyr myndes and voices
with them, and ſaye, Amen. That is
to ſaye, allowe what the priestes ſaye,
that the rehearſal of Goddes vniuer-
ſal woꝝkes and benefites, the geuing
of thanks, the professon of faithe, the
confessiō of synnes, and the requestes
and petitions of the priestes and the
people might ascende vp into the
eares of God altogether, and be as
a ſwete ſauour, odour, & incenſe in his
noſe, & thus was it bled many hūdred
yeares after Chyiſtes aſcenſion. But
thafoꝛeſaid thinges can not be done,
whā the priestes ſpeake to h^e people in
a language not knowen. And ſo thep
(or their clearke in their name) ſaye
Amen. but they cā not tel wher vnto:
Wher

Wher as S. Paule sayeth, how can þ
 people saye Amen to thy well sayeng;
 whan they vnderstande not what
 thou sayest. And thus was S. Paule
 vnderstanden of al interpreters bo-
 the Brekes and latines, olde & newe,
 schole autors and others, that I haue
 recorde, vntil about xxx. yeaers past. At
 which tyme one Eekius with other of
 his sorte, begane to deuise a newe ex-
 position, vnderstanding S. Paule of
 preaching only. But whan a good
 number of the best learned men repu-
 ted within this realme, som fauourig
 the olde, som the newe learning, as
 they terme it (wher in dede that which
 they cal the olde, is the newe: and that
 which they call the newe, is in dede þ
 olde) but whan a great number of
 suche learned men of bothe sortes
 were gathered together at Wynsor, for
 the reformation of the seruice of the
 church: It was agreed by bothe wout
 controuerisie (not one saing cōtrary)
 that the seruice of the churche ought
 to be in the mother tongue: and that
 S. Paule in the xliij. chap. to the Corin-
 thianes was so to be vnderstanden. And
 so is S. Paule to be vnderstanden in
 the ciuile lawe moze than a thousand
 yeaers

The papi-
 stes can
 saye yea
 and naye
 to one
 thing with
 one
 breathe,

peares passe: where Iustinianus (a most
godly Emperour) in a synode wryteth
on this maner. *Iubemus vt omnes epis-*
copi pariter & presbiteri non tacito mo-
do, sed clara voce quæ a fideli populo exan-
diantur, Sacram oblationem & preces in
sacro baptismo adhibitas celebrent, quo
maiori exinde deuotione in depromendis
Domini Dei laudibus audientium animi
efferantur. Ita enim & Diuus Paulus do-
cet in epistola ad Corinth. Si solūmodo be-
nedicat spiritus, quomodo is qui priuati
locum tenet, dicet ad gratiarum actionem
tuam, Amen? Quandoquidem quid dicas
nō videt. Tu quidem pulchrè gratias agis,
alterūtem non ædificatur.

E That is to saye: We cōmaunde, that
all Bishoppes and priestes celebrate the
holy oblation and prayers vsed in holy
Baptisme, not after a still close maner,
but with a cleare loude voice, that they
maye be playnly hearde of the saythfull
people, so as the hearers myndes maye
be lysted vp therby with the greater de-
uotion, in vttring the prayses of the
Lorde God. For so Paule teacheth also
in the epistle to the Corinthians. Yf the
spirite do only blesse (or saye well) howe
b shall

shal be that occupieth the place of a pri-
uate person, saye Amen to thy thankes
geuing? For he perceaueth not what
thou sayest. Thou doest geue thankes
well, but the other is not edified.

And not only the ciuile lawe and al
other writours a thousand and fyue
hundred yeares continually together
haue expounded S. Paule not of prea-
ching onely, but of other seruice sayde
in the churche, but also reason geueth
the same, that yf men be commaunded
to heare any thing, it must be spoken
in a language which the hearers vn-
derstande, or elles as S. Paule sayeth,
what auayleth it to heare? So that the
pope geuing a contrary commaunde-
ment, that the people commyng to the
churche shal hear they wote not what,
& shall answer they knowe not where-
vnto, taketh vpon him to commaunde
not only against reason, but also direc-
tly against God.

And agayn I said, wher as our sa-
ueour Christ ordayned the sacrament
of his most precious bodye and blood
to be receaued of all christian people
vnder the formes bothe of bread and
wyne, & said of the cuppe, Drynke ye al
of this: the pope geueth a cleane con-
trary

The pope
commaundeth bothe
against
God and
natural
reason.

The Sa-
crament
ought to
be recea-
ued in bo-
the kyndes
of all
christia-
nes.

trary commaundemēt, that no lay men
shal drynke of the cuppe of their salua-
tion: as though the cuppe of saluacion
by the blood of Christ, pertained not to
laye men. And wher as *Theophilus Alex-
andrinus* (whose woorkes S. Jerome did
translate about .xl. hundred yeares
past) sayeth, that yf Christ had ben cru-
cified for the deuilles, his cuppe should
not be denyed them. yet the Pope de-
nyeth the cup of Christ to christia peo-
ple, for whō Christ was crucified. So
that if I should obey the pope in these
thinges, I must nedes disobey my sa-
ueour Christ. But I was answered
herunto as comonly the papistes do an-
swer, y vnder þ forme of bread is hole
Christes fleshe & blood: so that whoso-
uer receaueth þ forme of bread, recea-
ueth aswel Christes blood as his flesh.
Let it be so. yet in the forme of breade
only, Christes blood is not dronken,
but eaten: nor is receaued in the cuppe
in the forme of wyne, as Christ com-
manded: but eaten w the fleshe vnder
the forme of bread. And moreouer the
bread is not þ sacrament of his blood;
but of his fleshe onely: nor the cuppe
is not the sacrament of his fleshe, but
of his ble onely.

Marke
wel.

And so the pope kepeth from all laye persones the sacramēt of their redēp-
tion by Christes blood, whiche Christ
commaundeth to be geuen vnto thē.

And furthermore Christ ordayned
the sacrament in two kyndes, the one
seperated from the other, to be a repre-
sentacion of his deathe, wher his
blood was separated from his fleshe,
which is not represēted in one kynde
alone. So that the laye people receaue
not the hole sacrament, wherby Chri-
stes deathe is represented, as he com-
maunded.

Moreover as the pope taketh vpon
him to geue the temporall sword, or
royall and Imperiall power to kyn-
ges and princes, so dothe he likewise
take vpon hym to depose them from
their Imperiall states, yf they be
disobedient to him: and commaun-
deth the subiectes to disobeie their
princes, assailing the subiectes aswell
of their obedience, as of their lausfull
othes made vnto their true kynges &
princes directly contrary to Goddes
commaundement, who commaundeth
all subiectes to obey their kynges, or
their rulers vnder them. One Iohan
Patriarke of Constantinopole in the tyme

of saint Gregorie claymed superio-
 ritie aboue all other bishoppes. To
 whom Saint Gregorie writeth, that
 therein he did iniurie to his three bre-
 thren, which were equal with hym: &
 is to saye, the Bishop of Rome, the bi-
 shop of Alexandria, and of Antiochia:
 which three were patriarchal seas, as
 well as Constantinopole, and were
 brethren one to an other. But (sayeth
 saynt Gregorie) Yf any one shall exalte
 him self aboue all the rest, to be the vni-
 uersal bishop, the same passeth in pride.
 But now the Bil. of Rome exalteth
 him self, not only aboue al bishoppes,
 but also aboue all kinges and Empe-
 rours, and aboue all the hole worlde:
 taking vpon him to geue and take a-
 waye, to set vp and put downe, as he
 shall thinke good. And as the Deuil
 hauing no such autoritie, yet toke vpo
 him to geue vnto Christ all the king-
 domes of y^e worlde, if he wold fal down
 & worshop him: in like maner the pope
 taketh vpon hym to geue empires &
 kingdomes (being non of his) to suche
 as will fall downe and worshop him,
 and kysse his fete. And mozeouer his
 lawers and glosers so flattere him, that
 they seyne he maye commaunde em-
 perours

*The deuil
 and the
 pope are
 like.*

perours and kinges to holde his Syn-
 rop, when he lighteth vpon his horse,
 and to be his souldiers. And that if any
 emperour or king geue hym any thing,
 they geue him nothing, but that is his
 owne. And that he maye dispense a-
 gainst Goddes worde, against bothe
 the olde and newe testament, against
 saynt Paules epistles, and against the
 Gospel. And furthermore whatsoeuer
 he dothe, although he drawe innume-
 rable people by heapes with him selfe
 in-to hell: yet maye no mortal man re-
 proue him: because he being iudge of
 all men, maye be iudged of no man.
 And thus he lytteth in the temple of
 God, as he were a God, and nameth
 him self Goddes vicare. And yet he dis-
 penseth against God. If this be not to
 playe Antichristes parte, I can not tel
 what is Antichrist: which is no more
 to saye, but Christes enemy & aduersa-
 ry: who shall sit in the temple of god
 aduaucing hym selfe aboue all o-
 ther: yet by hipocrisie and feyned reli-
 gion shall subuerthe the true religiō of
 Christ. And vnder pretense and co-
 lour of christian religion shall worke
 against Christ, and therfore hathe the
 name of Antichrist. Now if any man
 liste him selfe higher than the Pope

The pope
 is Antichrist,
 that is, Christes
 enemye.

wherefore
 the pope is
 Antichrist.

hath done, who lifteth hym selfe a-
 bove all the world: or can be more ad-
 uersarye to Christ, than to dispense a-
 gainst Goddes lawes, & wher Christ
 hath geue any commaundement, to
 commaunde directly the contrary: y
 mā must nedes be take for Antichrist.
 But vntill the tyme that suche a persō
 may be foude, mē maye easily coniecture,
 wher to fynde Antichrist.

Wherfore seing the pope thus (to
 ouerthrowe bothe Goddes lawes &
 mannes lawes) taketh vpon hym, to
 make emperours and kynges to be
 haillaies and subiectes vnto hym, &
 specially the crowne of this realme,
 with the lawes and customes of the
 same: I see no meane, how I maye co-
 sente to admyt this vsurped power
 within this realme, contrary to myne
 othe, myne obediēce to Goddes lawe,
 myne allegeaunce & ductie to your
 maiestie, & my loue & affection to this
 realme. This that I haue spoken a-
 gainst the power and autoritie of the
 pope, I haue not spoken (I take God
 to record and iudge) for any malice I
 owe to y popes persō, whom I knowe
 not, but I shal praye to God to geue
 him grace, that he maye seeke aboue

*Note this
 conclusion*

*The causes why the
 Archebis
 shop spake
 & wrote
 thus*

all thinges to pmoote Goddes honoure
and glorie, and not to folowe þe trade
of his pdecessours in these later daies.
For I haue not spoken it for feare of
punishment & to auoide þe same, thin-
king it rather an occasiõ to aggrauate
thā to diminish my trouble: but I ha-
ue spokē it for my most boundē duty to
þe crowne, liberties, lawes & customes
of this realme of Englā, but most spe-
cially to discharge my cōscience in utte-
ring þe truthe to goddes glorie, casting
awaye al feare, by þe comfort which I
haue in Christ, who sayeth: Feare not
them that kill the body, and can not kill
the soule: but feare him that can cast bo-
dy & soule in to hell fyre. He that
for feare to lose this life, will forsake
the truthe, shall lose the everlasting
life. And he that for the truthe sake
will spende his life, shall synde euerla-
sting life. And Christ pmyseth to stāde
fast with thē before his father, which
will stande faste wth him here. Which
cōfort is so great, þe whosoever hathe
his eyes fixed vpon Christ, can not
greatly passe on this life, knowing
that he maye be sure to haue Christ
stande by him, in the presence of his
father in heauen.

And

And as touching þ Sacrament, I *The sacra*
sayed: Forasmuche as the hole mater *ment.*
standeth in þ vnderstanding of these
wordes of Christ, This is my body,
This is my blood: I sayed, that Christ
in these wordes made demonstracion
of þ bread & wyne, and spake figurati-
uely, calling bread his bodye, & wyne
his blood: bicause he ordayned them
to be sacramētes of his body & blood.
And wher þ papistes say in those two
pointes cōtrary vnto me, þ Christ cal-
led not bread his body, but a substance
vncertayn, nor spake figuratiuely:
Herein I sayed, I wolde be iudged by
the olde churche. And which doctrine
could be proued the elder, that I wold
stāde vnto. And forasmuche as I haue
alleged in my boke many olde autozs
bothe Brekes & latines, which about
a thousaunt yeares after Christ conti-
nually taught as I doo: if they could
bring furthe but one olde autoz, that
sayeth in these two poyntes, as they
saye: I offred vij. or viij. yeares agoo, &
doo offre yet still, þ I will geue place
vnto them. But whan I bring furthe
any autoz that sayeth in most playne
termes as I doo, yet sayeth the other
partie, that the autozs ment not so: as
who shoulde saye, that þ autozs spake

one thing, and ment cleane contrary.
And vpon the other parte, whan they
can not fynde any one autor, that saye
eth in wordes, as they saye, yet saye
they, that the autors met as they saye.
Now whether I or they speake more
to the purpose herein, I referre me to
the iudgement of al indifferēt hearers.
yea the olde church of Rome aboue
a thousaunt yeares together, neither
beleued nor vled the Sacrament, as the
church of Rome hath done of late yea-
res. For in the beginning the church of
Rome taught a pure and a sounde doc-
trine of the sacrament. But after that
the church of Rome fell in to a newe
doctrine of transubstanciacion: to the
doctrine they chaunged the vse of the
sacrament, contrary to that Christ
commaunded, and the olde church
of Rome vled aboue a thousaunt
yeares. And yet to deface the olde,
they saye that the newe is the olde:
wherin for my parte, I am content
to the tryall to stande. But their doc-
trine is so fonde and vncomfortable,
that I marvail, that any man wold
allowe it, if he knewe what it is. But
what so ever they beare the people in
hande, that which they wyte in their
booke.

The papi-
stes make
Christ two
bodies.

bokes hathe nother truthe nor cōfort.
For by their doctrine, of one body of
Christ is made two bodies: one natu-
ral, hauing distaunce of membres in
forme and proportion of a mans per-
fite body, and this body is in heauen.

But the body of Christ in the sacra-
mēt, by their owne doctrine, must ne-
des be a monstrous body, hauing nei-
ther distaunce of membres, nor forme,
facion, or proportion of a mannes na-
turall body. And suche a body is in the
sacrament, teache they: and goth in to
the mouthe with the forme of bread,
and entreth no farther thā the forme
of bread gothe: nor tarieth no longer
than the forme of bread is by natural
heat in digesting. So that whan the
forme of bread is digested, that body
of Christ is gone.

And forasmuche as euil men be
as long in digesting as good men, the
body of Christ (by their doctrine) en-
treth as farre, and tarieth as long in
wicked men, as in godly men. And
what cōfort can be hercin to any chri-
stian men, to receaue Christes vnsha-
pen body, & it to entre no farther than
the stomacke, and to departe by & by,
as sone as the bread is consumed?

Mark.

*The forme
de true
doctrine
of the Sac-
rament.*

It semeth to me a more sounde & cō-
fortable doctrine, that Chzist hath but
one body, & that hath the forme & faciō of
a mannes true body: which body spiri-
tually entreth into the hole mā, bodye
& soule. And though the sacrament be
consumed, yet hole Chzist remayneth,
& sedeth the receauer vnto eternal life,
if he cōtinue in godlynesse: & neuer de-
parteth, vntill h̄ receauer forsake him.
And as for the wicked, they haue not
Chzist within them at al, who can not
be where Belial is. And this is my
sayth, and (as me semeth) a sounde do-
ctrine, according to goddes worde, &
sufficient for a chzistian to beleue in
that mater. And if it can be shewed vñ
to me, that the Popes antozitie is not
preiudicial to the thinges befoze mē-
tioned: or that my doctrine in h̄ sacra-
ment is erroneous (which I thinke
can not be shewed) than I was neuer
nor wilbe so peruerse, to stande wilful-
ly in myne owne opinion, but I shall
(with all humilitie) submitte my selfe
vnto the Pope, not only to kisse his
fete, but an other parte also.
An other cause why I refused to take
the b. of Gloucestre for my iudge, was
the respecte of his owne person being
moze

*That can
they neuer
doo,*

*The bis-
shop of
Gloucest-
res periu-
ry.*

more than ones periured. First for
that he being diuerse tymes swozne,
neuer to consent that the B. of Rome
should haue any iurisdicō within this
realme, but to take the king, & his suc-
cessours for supzeme heades of this
realme, as by goddes lawes they be.
Contrary to that lawfull othe the said
B. sate than in iudgemēt by autozitie
from Rome, wherin he was periured,
and not woꝛthy to syt as a iudge.

The seconde periurie was, that he
toke his bishopzlike bothe of ꝑ Quenes
Maiestie & of ꝑ Pope, making to eche
of them a solemne othe. Which othes
be so contrarie, that the one must ne-
des be periured. And furthermoze in
swearing to the pope, to maintēne his
lawes, decrees, cōstitutiōs, ordinaūces
reseruaciōs, & pꝛouisiōs he declareth
him selfe an enemy to the Imperial
crowne, & to the lawes & state of this
realme: wherby he declared him selfe
not woꝛthy to syt as a iudge win this
realme. And for these cōsideraciōs
I refused to take him for my iudge.

This was written in an other let-
tre to the Quene.

I Learned by D. Martin, that at the
dape of your Maiesties cozonacion,
you

*The B. of
Gloucester
is a traitor
and an
enemye
to the real-
me.*

you toke an othe of obedience to the pope of Rome. And y^e same tyme you toke an other othe to this realme, to mayntene y^e lawes, liberties, and customes of y^e same. And if your Maiestie did make an othe to y^e pope. I thinke it was acco^rdig to y^e other othes, which he vseth to ministrate to p^rinces: which is to be obedient to him, to defende his person, to mayntene his autoritie, honour, lawes, landes, & p^riuileges. And if it be so (which I knowe not, but by reporte) thā I beseeche your maiestie, to loke vpon your othe made to the crowne & realme: & to expende and weighe the two othes together, to see how they do agre, & as your graces conscience shal geue you. For I am surely perswaded, that willingly your Maiestie will not offēde, nor doo against your conscience for nothing.

worthy
othes
wherby
perjury
must ne
des be
comitted.

But I feare me, that ther be contradictiones in your othes, and that thoe which should haue informed your grace throughly, did not their dueties therein. And if your Maiestie pondre y^e two othes diligently, I thiike you shal perceaue, you were deceaued; & than your highnesse maye vse y^e matter, as God shal put in your hearte.

Further:

Furthermoze I am kept here frō cō-
panie of learned men, from booke, frō
cōsail, from penne & inke, saving at
this time to writ vnto your Maiestie:
whiche all were necessary for a man
being in my case. Wherfoze I beseeche
your maiestie, y I maye haue suche of
these, as maye stande w your Maies-
ties pleasure. And as for myne appea-
raunce at Rome, if your Maiestie wil
geue me leaue, I will appeare ther.
And I trust, that God shall put in my
mouthe, to defende his truthe ther, as
well as here. But I referre it holly to
your maiesties pleasure.

No, ye
shalbe de-
speched ne-
uer home,

To Doctour Martin, and Doc-
tour Storie.

I haue me commended vnto you.
And as I promysed, I haue sent
my lettres vnto the Quenes Ma-
iestie vnsigued: Praying you to
signe the & deliuer them w al spe-
de. I might haue sent them by the
carrier soner, but not surer. But hea-
ring M. Bailif saye, that he wolde
goe to y court on Frydaye, I thought
him a meter messagier, to sende my
lettres by. For better is later and sur-
er, thā soner & neuer to be deliuered.

pet

Martyn
and Story
promise
breakers.

yet one thing I haue wrytten to the
Quenes Ma. inclosed & sealed: which
I require you may be so deliuered, w
out delay, & not be opened, vntill it be
deliuerd vnto her graces owne hâdes.
I haue wryttē al þ I remēbre I sayd,
except þ which I spake against þ B. of
Blou. owne person: which I thought
not mete to wryte. And in some places
I haue wryttē moze thā I said: which
I wolde haue answered to þ B. if you
wold haue suffred me. you promised
I should see mine answer to þ. xvi. ar-
ticles, þ I might correcte, amēde and
chaunge them, wher I thought good:
which your pmyse you kept not. And
myne answer was not made vpon
myne othe, noz repeted noz made in
Iudicio but *extra iudiciū*, as I ptested: noz
to þ B. of Blou. as indge, but to you þ
kynges & Quenes pottours. I trust
you deale syncerely with me without
fraude oꝝ craft: & ble me as you wold
wylle to be bled in like case your sel-
nes. Remember þ *Qua mensura mensi fue-
ritis, eadem remeietur vobis*. That is, what
measure you meate, þ same shalbe mea-
sured to you agayne. Thus fare you
well. And God sende you his spirite
to indute you in to all truthe.

